A

TRIAL

OF

WITCHES,

At the ASSIZES held at BURY ST. EDMUND's in the County of SUFFOLK,

On the Tenth Day of *March* 1664.

BEFORE

Sir MATTHEW HALE, Knt.

THEN

Lord Chief Baron of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer.

Taken by a Person then attending the Court.

Printed in the Year 1771,

Sold by P. DECK in Bury, and by all the Booksellers in Town and Country.

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PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

THIS trial of the witches being printed many years, ſince, and being at this time very ſcarce, the * book to which it was annexed, lately came to my hands, and having peruſed it, I found it a very remarkable thing, which induced me to offer it the public;—though at this time things of this nature are generally diſbelieved, yet this trial ſeems to carry more weight than the general accounts we have had of theſe things, eſpecially this being held before a judge who for his integrity, learning, and law, hardly any age, either before or ſince could parallel, who not only took a great deal of pains, and ſpent much time in this trial

BRITISH MUSEUM

* Hale's Pleas of the Crown.

trial himſelf, but had the aſſiſtance and opinion of ſeveral other very eminent and learned perſons, ſo that this being the moſt perfect narrative of any thing of this nature hitherto extant, was the principal motive which induced me to republiſh it.

A Trial of Witches.

At the Aſſizes and General Goal delivery, held at *Bury St. Edmunds* for the County of *Suffolk*, the Tenth of *March*, in the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King CHARLES II. before MATTHEW HALE, Knt. Lord Chief Baron of his Majeſty's Court of Exchequer; ROSE CULLENDER and AMY DUNY, Widows, both of *Leoſtoft* in the County aforeſaid, were ſeverally indicted for bewitching ELIZABETH and ANN DURENT, JANE BOCKING, SUSAN CHANDLER, WILLIAM DURENT, ELIZABETH and DEBORAH PACY: and the ſaid CULLENDER and DUNY, being arraigned upon the ſaid Indictment, pleaded *Not Guilty*: and afterwards, upon a long Evidence, were found *Guilty*, and thereupon had Judgment to *die* for the ſame.

A

TRIAL

OF

WITCHES.

The Evidence whereupon the beforenamed Perſons were convicted of *Witchcraft*, ſtands upon divers particular Circumſtances.

I. THREE of the parties beforenamed, viz. ANN DURENT, SUSAN CHANDLER, and ELIZABETH PACY were brought to *Bury* to the Aſſizes and were in a reaſonable good condition: but that morning they came into the hall to give inſtructions for the drawing of their bills of indictments, the

the three perſons fell into ſtrange and violent fits, ſcreaming out in a moſt ſad manner, ſo that they could not in any wiſe give any inſtructions in the court who were the cauſe of their diſtemper. And although they did after ſome ſpace recover out of their fits, yet they were every one of them ſtruck dumb, ſo that none of them could ſpeak neither at that time, nor during the Aſſizes, untill the conviction of the ſuppoſed Witches.

As concerning WILLIAM DURENT being an infant, his mother DOROTHY DURENT ſworn and examined, depoſed in open court, that about the tenth of *March Nono Caroli Secundi*, ſhe having a ſpecial occaſion to go from home, and having none in her houſe to take care of her ſaid child (it then ſucking) deſired AMY DUNY her neighbour, to look to her child during her abſence, for which ſhe promiſed her to give her a penny; but the ſaid DOROTHY DURENT deſired the ſaid AMY not to ſuckle her child, and laid a great charge upon her not to do it.

Upon

Upon which it was aſked by the court, why ſhe did give that direction, ſhe being an old woman and not capable of giving ſuck?

It was anſwered by the ſaid DOROTHY DURENT that ſhe very well knew that ſhe did not give ſuck, but that for ſome years before, ſhe had gone under the reputation of a *Witch*, which was one cauſe made her give her the caution: Another was, that it was cuſtomary with old women, that if they did look after a ſucking child, and nothing would pleaſe it but the breaſt, they did uſe to pleaſe the child to give it the breaſt, and it did pleaſe the child, but it ſucked nothing but wind, which did the child hurt. Nevertheleſs after the departure of this deponent, the ſaid AMY did ſuckle the child: and after the return of the ſaid DOROTHY, the ſaid AMY did acquaint her, *that ſhe had given ſuck to the child*, contrary to her command. Whereupon the deponent was very angry with the ſaid AMY for the ſame; at which the ſaid AMY was very much diſcontented, and

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uſed many high expreſſions and threatning ſpeeches towards her; telling her, *that ſhe had as good to have done otherwiſe than to have found fault with her, and ſo departed out of her houſe:* and that very night her ſon fell into ſtrange fits of ſwounding, and was held in ſuch terrible manner, that ſhe was much affirighted therewith, and ſo continued for divers weeks.

And the ſaid examinant farther ſaid, that ſhe being exceedingly troubled at her child's diſtemper, did go to a certain perſon named doctor JACOB, who lived at *Yarmouth*, who had the reputation in the country, to help children that were bewitched; who adviſed her to hang up the childs blanket all day, and at night when ſhe put the child to bed, to put it into the ſaid blanket. and if ſhe found any thing in it, ſhe ſhould not be afraid, but to throw it into the fire.

And this deponent did according to his direction; and at night when ſhe took down the blanket with an intent to put her child therein; there fell out of the ſame a great toad, which ran up and down the hearth, and ſhe having a young youth only

with

with her in the houſe, deſired him to catch the toad, and throw it into the fi e, which the youth did accordingly, and held it there with the tongs; and as ſoon as it was in the fire it made a great and horrible noiſe, and after a ſpace there was a flaſhing in the fire like gun-powder, making a noiſe like the diſcharge of a piſtol, and thereupon the toad was no more ſeen nor heard.

It was aſked by the court, if that after the noiſe and flaſhing, there was not the ſubſtance of the toad to conſume in the fire?

And it was anſwered by the ſaid DOROTRY DURENT, that after the flaſhing and noiſe, there was no more ſeen than if there had been none there.

The next day there came a young woman, a kinſwoman of the ſaid AMY, and a neighbour of this deponent, and told this deponent that her aunt (meaning the ſaid AMY) was in a moſt lamentable condition, having her face all ſcorched with fire, and that ſhe was ſitting alone in her houſe, in her ſmock without

any fire. And thereupon this deponent went into the houſe of the ſaid AMY DUNY to ſee her, and found her in the ſame condition as was related to her; for her face, her legs and thighs, which this deponent ſaw, ſeemed very much ſcorched and burnt with fire, at which this deponent ſeemed much to wonder; and aſked the ſaid AMY how ſhe came into that ſad condition? And the ſaid AMY replied, ſhe might thank her for it, for that ſhe, this deponent was the cauſe thereof, but that ſhe ſhould live to ſee ſome of her children dead, and ſhe upon crutches.

And that this deponent farther ſaith, that after the burning of the ſaid toad, her child recovered, and was well again, and was living at the time of the Aſſizes.

And this deponent farther ſaith, that about the 6th of *March*, 11°. CAR. 2. her daughter ELIZABETH DURENT, being about the age of ten years, was taken in like manner as her firſt child was, and in her fits complained much of AMY DUNY, and

and ſaid, that ſhe did appear to her, and afflict her in ſuch manner as the former.

And ſhe, this deponent, going to the apothecaries for ſomething for her ſaid child, when ſhe did return to her own houſe, ſhe found the ſaid AMY DUNY there, and aſked her what ſhe did do there? And her anſwer was, *that ſhe came to ſee her child, and to give it ſome water.* But ſhe this deponent was very angry with her, and thruſt her forth of her doors, and when ſhe was out of doors, ſhe ſaid, *you need not be ſo angry, for your child will not live long*: and this was on a *Saturday*, and the child died on the *Monday* following. The cauſe of whoſe death this deponent verily believeth was occaſioned by the witchcraft of the ſaid AMY DUNY: for that the ſaid AMY hath been long reputed to be a *witch*, and a perſon of very evil behaviour, whoſe kindred and relations have been many of them accuſed of *witchcraft*, and ſome of them have been condemned.

The ſaid deponent further ſaith, that not long after the death of her daughter ELIZABETH DURENT, ſhe, this deponent, was taken with a lameneſs in both her legs, from her knees downward, that ſhe was fain to go upon crutches, and that ſhe had no other uſe of them but only to bear a little upon them till ſhe did remove her crutches, and ſo continued till the time of the aſſizes, that the *witch* came to be tried, and was there upon her crutches.

This is the ſubſtance of her evidence to this indictment.

There was one thing very remarkable, that after ſhe had gone upon crutches for upwards of three years, and went upon them at the time of the aſſizes in the court when ſhe gave her evidence, and upon the Jurors bringing in their verdict, by which the ſaid AMY DUNY was found guilty, to the great admiration of all perſons, the ſaid DOROTHY DURENT was reſtored to the uſe of her limbs, and went home without making uſe of her crutches.

II. As

II. As concerning ELIZABETH and DEBORAH PACY, the firſt of the age of eleven years, the other of the age of nine years or thereabouts: As to the elder, ſhe was brought into the court at the time of the inſtructions given to draw up the indictments, and afterwards at the time of trial of the ſaid priſoners, but could not ſpeak one word all the time, and for the moſt part ſhe remained as one wholly ſenſeleſs as one in a deep ſleep, and could move no part of her body, and all the motion of life that appeared in her was, that as ſhe lay upon cuſhions in the court upon her back, her ſtomach and belly, by the drawing of her breath, would riſe to a great height; and after the ſaid ELIZABETH had laid a long time on the table in the court, ſhe came a little to her ſelf and ſat up, but could neither ſee nor ſpeak, but was ſenſible of what was ſaid to her, and after a while ſhe laid her head on the bar of the court with a cuſhion under it, and her hand and her apron upon that, and there ſhe lay a good ſpace of time; and by the direction of the judge,

judge, AMY DUNY was privately brought to ELIZABETH PACY, and ſhe touched her hand; whereupon the child without ſo much as ſeeing her, for her eyes were cloſed all the while, ſuddenly leaped up, and catched AMY DUNY by the hand, and afterwards by the face; and with her nails ſcratched her till blood came, and would by no means leave her till ſhe was taken from her, and afterwards the child would ſtill be preſſing towards her, and making ſigns of anger conceived againſt her.

DEBORAH the younger daughter was held in ſuch extreme manner, that her parents wholly deſpaired of her life, and therefore could not bring her to the Aſſizes.

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The Evidence which was given concerning theſe Two Children was to the following Effect:

SAMUEL PACY a merchant of *Leoſtoft* aforeſaid, (a man who carried himſelf with much ſoberneſs during the trial, from whom proceeded no words either of paſſion or malice, though his children were ſo greatly afflicted) ſworn and examined, depoſeth, that his younger daughter DEBORAH, upon *Thurſday* the tenth of *October* laſt, was ſuddenly taken with a lameneſs in her legs, ſo that ſhe could not ſtand, neither had ſhe any ſtrength in her limbs to ſupport her, and ſo ſhe continued until the ſeventeenth day of the ſame month, which day being fair and funſhiny the child deſired to be carried on the eaſt part of the houſe, to be ſet upon the bank which looketh upon the ſea; and whilſt ſhe was ſitting there, AMY DUNY came to this deponents houſe to buy ſome herrings, but being denied ſhe

went

away diſcontented, and preſently returned again, and was denied, and likewiſe the third time, and was denied as at firſt; and at her laſt going away, ſhe went away grumbling; but what ſhe ſaid was not perfectly underſtood. But at the very ſame inſtant of time, the ſaid child was taken with moſt violent fits, feeling moſt extreme pain in her ſtomach, like the pricking of pins, and ſhreeking out in a moſt dreadful manner like unto a whelp, and not like unto a ſenſible creature. And in this extremity the child continued to the great grief of the parents until the thirtieth of the ſame month.

During this time this deponent ſent for one Dr. FEAVOR, a doctor of phyſic, to take his advice concerning his childs diſtemper; the doctor being come, he ſaw the child in thoſe fits, but could not conjecture (as he then told this deponent, and afterwards affirmed in open court, at this trial) what might be the cauſe of the childs affliction.

And this deponent farther ſaith, that by reaſon of the circumſtances aforeſaid, and

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in regard AMY DUNY is a woman of ill fame, and commonly reported to be a *witch* and *ſorcereſs*, and for that the ſaid child in her fits would cry out of AMY DUNY as the cauſe of her malady, and that ſhe did affright her with apparitions of her perſon (as the child in the intervals of her fits related) he this deponent did ſuſpect the ſaid AMY DUNY for a *witch*, and charged her with the injury and wrong to his child, and cauſed her to be ſet in the ſtocks on the twenty-eighth of the ſame *October*; and during the time of her continuance there, one ALICE LETTERIDGE and JANE BUXTON demanding of her (as they alſo affirmed in court upon their oaths) what ſhould be the reaſon of Mr. PACY's childs diſtemper? telling her, that ſhe was ſuſpected to be the cauſe thereof; ſhe replyed, *Mr.* PACY *keeps a great ſtir about his child, but let him ſtay till he hath done as much by his children, as I have done by mine.* And being further examined, what ſhe had done to her children? ſhe anſwered, *that ſhe had been fain to open her child's mouth with a tap to give it victuals.*

And the ſaid deponent further depoſeth, that within two days after ſpeaking of the ſaid words, being the thirtieth of *October*, the eldeſt daughter ELIZABETH, fell into extreme fits, inſomuch, that they could not open her mouth to give her breath to preſerve her life, without the help of a tap, which they were enforced to uſe; and the younger child was in the like manner afflicted, ſo that they uſed the ſame alſo for her relief.

And further the ſaid children being grievouſly afflicted would ſeverally complain in their extremity, and alſo in the intervals, that AMY DUNY (together with one other woman whoſe perſon and cloaths they deſcribed) did thus afflict them, their apparitions appearing before them, to their great terror and affrightment: and ſometimes they would cry out, ſaying, *there ſtands* AMY DUNY, *and there* ROSE CULLENDER; the other perſon troubling them.

Their fits were various, ſometimes they would be lame on one ſide of their bodies, ſometimes

ſometimes on the other, ſometimes a ſoreneſs over their whole bodies, ſo as they could endure none to touch them; at other times they would be reſtored to the perfect uſe of their limbs, and deprived of their hearing; at other times of their ſight; at other times of their ſpeech, ſometimes by the ſpace of one day, ſometimes for two, and once they were wholly deprived of their ſpeech for eight days together, and then reſtored to their ſpeech again; at other times they would fall into ſwoonings, and upon the recovery to their ſpeech they would cough extreamly, and bring up much phlegm, and with the ſame crooked pins, and one time a two-penny nail with a very broad head, which pins, (amounting to forty or more) together with the two-penny nail were produced in court, with the affirmation of the ſaid deponent, that he was preſent when the ſaid nail was vomited up, and alſo moſt of the pins. Commonly at the end of every fit they would caſt up a pin, and ſometimes they would have four or five fits in one day.

In this manner the ſaid children continued with this deponent for the ſpace of two months, during which time in their intervals this deponent would cauſe them to read ſome chapters in the *New Teſtament*. Whereupon this deponent ſeveral times obſerved, that they would read till they came to the name of Lord, or Jeſus, or Chriſt, and then before they could pronounce either of the ſaid words they would ſuddenly fall into their fits. But when they came to the name of Satan, or Devil, they would clap their fingers upon the book, crying out, *this bites, but makes me ſpeak right well.*

At ſuch time as they be recovered out of their fits (occaſioned as this deponent conceives upon their naming of Lord, or Jeſus, or Chriſt) this deponent hath demanded of them, what is the cauſe they cannot pronounce theſe words? they reply and ſay, *that* AMY DUNY *ſaith, I muſt not uſe that name.*

And farther, the ſaid children after their fits were paſt, would tell, how that AMY DUNY

DUNY, and ROSE CULLENDER would appear before them, holding their fiſts at them, threatning, *that if they related either what they ſaw or heard, they would torment them ten times more than ever they did before.*

In their fits they would cry out, *there ſtands* AMY DUNY, or ROSE CULLENDER: and ſometimes in one place and ſometimes in another, running with great violence to the place where they fancied them to ſtand, ſtriking at them as if they were preſent; they would appear to them ſometimes ſpinning, and ſometimes reeling, or in other poſtures, deriding or threatning them.

And this deponent farther ſaith, that his children being thus tormented by all the ſpace aforeſaid, and finding no hopes of amendment, he ſent them to his ſiſter's houſe, one MARGARET ARNOLD, who lived at *Yarmouth*, to make trial, whether the chance of the air might do them any good. And how, and in what manner they were afterwards held, he this deponent refers

refers himſelf to the teſtimony of his ſaid ſiſter.

MARGARET ARNOLD, ſworn and examined, ſaith, that the ſaid ELIZABETH and DEBORAH PACY came to her houſe about the thirtieth of *November* laſt; her brother acquainted her, that he thought they were bewitched, for that they vomited pins; and farther informed her of the ſeveral paſſages which occurred at his own houſe.

This deponent ſaid, that ſhe gave no credit to what was related to her, conceiving poſſibly the children might uſe ſome deceit in putting pins in their mouths themſelves. Wherefore this deponent unpinned all their cloaths, and left not ſo much as one pin upon them, but ſewed all the cloaths they wore, inſtead of pinning of them.

But this deponent ſaith, that notwithſtanding all this care and circumſpection of hers, the children afterwards raiſed at ſeveral times at leaſt thirty pins in her preſence, and had moſt fierce and violent fits upon them.

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The children would in their fits cry out againſt ROSE CULLENDER and AMY DUNY, affirming that they ſaw them; and they threatened to torment them ten times more, if they complained of them. At ſome times the children (only) would ſee things run up and down the houſe in the appearance of mice; and one of them ſuddenly ſnapt one with the tongs, and threw it into the fire, and it ſcreamed out like a rat.

At another time, the younger child being out of her fits went out of doors to take a little freſh air, and preſently a little thing like a bee flew upon her face, and would have gone into her mouth, whereupon the child ran in all haſte to the door to get into the houſe again, ſcreaming out in a moſt terrible manner; whereupon this deponent made haſte to come to her, but before ſhe could get to her, the child fell into her ſwooning fit, and at laſt with much pain ſtraining herſelf, ſhe vomited up a two-penny nail with a broad head; and after that the child had raiſed up the nail ſhe

came

came to her underſtanding; and being demanded by this deponent, how ſhe came by this nail? ſhe anſwered, *that the bee brought this nail and forced it into her mouth.*

And at other times, the elder child declared unto this deponent, that during the time of her fits, ſhe ſaw flies come unto her, and bring with them in their mouths crooked pins; and after the child had thus declared the ſame, ſhe fell again into violent fits, and afterwards raiſed ſeveral pins.

At another time, the ſaid elder child declared unto this deponent, and ſitting by the fire ſuddenly ſtarted up and ſaid, *ſhe ſaw a mouſe*, and ſhe crept under the table looking after it, and at length, ſhe put ſomething in her apron, ſaying *ſhe had caught it*, and immediately ſhe ran to the fire and threw it in, and there did appear upon it to this deponent, like the flaſhing of gun-powder, though ſhe confeſſed ſhe ſaw nothing in the child's hand.

At another time the ſaid child being ſpeechleſs, but otherwiſe, of perfect underſtanding

ſtanding, ran round about the houſe holding her apron, crying, *huſh, huſh,* as if there had been ſome poultry in the houſe; but this deponent could perceive nothing: but at laſt ſhe ſaw the child ſtoop, as if ſhe had catched at ſomething, and put it into her apron, and afterwards made as if ſhe had thrown it into the fire: but this deponent could not diſcover any thing: but the child afterwards being reſtored to her ſpeech, ſhe this deponent demanded of her what ſhe ſaw at the time ſhe uſed ſuch a poſture? who anſwered, *that ſhe ſaw a duck.*

At another time, the younger daughter being recovered out of her fits, declared *that* AMY DUNY *had been with her, and that ſhe tempted her to drown herſelf, and to cut her throat, or otherwiſe to deſtroy herſelf.*

At another time in their fits they both of them cryed out upon ROSE CULLENDER and AMY DUNY, complaining againſt them; *why do not you come yourſelves, but ſend your imps to torment us?*

Theſe ſeveral paſſages as moſt remarkable, the ſaid deponent did particularly ſet down as they daily happened, and for the reaſons aforeſaid, ſhe doth verily believe in her conſcience, that the children were bewitched, and by the ſaid AMY DUNY, and ROSE CULLENDER; though at firſt ſhe could hardly be induced to believe it.

As concerning ANN DURENT, one other of the parties, ſuppoſed to be bewitched, preſent in court.

EDMUND DURENT her father ſworn and examined; ſaid, that he alſo lived in the ſaid town of *Leoſtoft*, and that the ſaid ROSE CULLENDER, about the latter end of *November* laſt, came into this deponents houſe to buy ſome herrings of his wife, but being denied by her, the ſaid ROSE returned in a diſcontented manner; and upon the firſt of *December* after, his daughter ANN DURENT was very ſorely afflicted in her ſtomach, and felt great pain, like the pricking of pins, and then fell into ſwoon-

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ing fits, and after the recovery from her fits, ſhe declared, *that ſhe had ſeen the apparition of the ſaid* ROSE, *who threatned to torment her.* In this manner ſhe continued from the firſt of *December*, until this preſent time of trial; having likewiſe vomited up divers pins (produced here in court.) This maid was preſent in court, but cou'd not ſpeak to declare her knowledge, but fell into moſt violent fits when ſhe was brought before ROSE CULLENDER.

ANN BALDWIN ſworn and examined, depoſeth the ſame thing as touching the bewitching of the ſaid ANN DURENT.

As concerning JANE BOCKING who was ſo weak, ſhe could not be brought to the aſſizes.

DIANA BOCKING ſworn and examined, depoſed, that ſhe lived in the ſame town of *Leoſtoft*, and that her ſaid daughter having been formerly afflicted with ſwooning fits recovered well of them and ſo continued for a certain time; and upon the firſt of *February* laſt, ſhe was taken alſo with great pain in her ſtomach,

like pricking with pins; and afterwards fell into ſwooning fits, and ſo continued till the deponents coming to the aſſizes, having during the ſame time taken little or no food, but daily vomited crooked pins; and upon *Sunday* laſt raiſed ſeven pins. And whilſt her fits were upon her ſhe would ſpread forth her arms with her hands open, and uſe poſtures as if ſhe catched at ſomething, and inſtantly cloſe her hands again; which being immediately forced open, they found ſeveral pins diverſly crooked, but could neither ſee not perceive how or in what manner they were conveyed thither. At another time, the ſame JANE being in another of her fits, talked as if ſhe were diſcourſing with ſome perſons in the room, (though ſhe would give no anſwer nor ſeem to take notice of any perſon then preſent) and would in like manner caſt abroad her arms, ſaying, *I will not have it, I will not have it*; and at laſt ſhe ſaid, *then I will have it*, and ſo waving her arm with her hand open, ſhe would preſently cloſe the ſame, which inſtantly forced open, they found in it a lath-nail. In her fits ſhe would

would frequently complain of ROSE CULLENDER, and AMY DUNY, ſaying that *now ſhe ſaw* ROSE CULLENDER *ſtanding at the beds-feet, and another time at the beds-head, and ſo in other places.* At laſt ſhe was ſtricken dumb and could not ſpeak one word, though her fits were not upon her, and ſo ſhe contiuued for ſome days; and at laſt her ſpeech came to her again, and ſhe deſired her mother to get her ſome meat; and being demanded the reaſon why ſhe could not ſpeak in ſo long a time? She anſwered, *that* AMY DUNY *would not ſuffer her to ſpeak.* This lath-nail, and divers of the pins were produced in court.

As concerning SUSAN CHANDLER, one other of the parties ſuppoſed to be bewitched and preſent in court.

MARY CHANDLER mother of the ſaid SUSAN, ſworn and examined, depoſed and ſaid, that about the beginning of *February* laſt paſt, the ſaid ROSE CULLENDER and AMY DUNY were charged by Mr. SAMUEL PACY for bewitching of his daughters.

ters. And a warrant being granted at the requeſt of the ſaid Mr. PACY, by Sir EDMUND BACON, Bart. one of the juſtices of the peace for the county of *Suffolk*, to bring them before him, and they being brought before him were examined, and confeſſed nothing. He gave order that they ſhould be ſearched; whereupon this deponent with five others were appointed to do the ſame: and coming to the houſe of ROSE CULLENDER, they did acquaint her with what they were come about, and aſked whether ſhe was contented that they ſhould ſearch her? She did not oppoſe it.

And this deponent farther ſaith, that her ſaid daughter (being of the age of eighteen years) was then in ſervice in the ſaid town of *Leoſtoft*, and riſing up early the next morning to waſh, this *Roſe Cullender* appeared to her, and took her by the hand, whereat ſhe was much affrighted, and went forthwith to her mother, (being in the ſame town) and acquainted her with what ſhe had ſeen; but being extremely terrified, ſhe fell extream ſick, much grieved at her ſtomach;

ſtomach; and that night after being in bed with another young woman, ſhe ſuddenly ſcreamed out, and fell into ſuch extream fits as if ſhe were diſtracted, crying againſt ROSE CULLENDER; ſaying, *ſhe would come to bed to her.* She continued in this manner beating and tearing herſelf, inſomuch, that this deponent was glad to get help to attend her.

In her intervals ſhe would declare, *that ſometimes ſhe ſaw* ROSE CULLENDER, *at another time with a great dog with her:* ſhe alſo vomited up divers crooked pins; and ſometimes ſhe was ſtricken with blindneſs, and at another time ſhe was dumb, and ſo ſhe appeared to be in court when the trial of the priſoners was; for ſhe was not able to ſpeak her knowledge; but being brought into the court at the trial, ſhe ſuddenly fell into her fits, and being carried out of the court again, within the ſpace of half an hour ſhe came to herſelf and recovered her ſpeech, and thereupon was immediately brought into the court, and aſked by the court, whether ſhe was in condition to take her oath,

oath, and to give evidence, ſhe ſaid ſhe could. But when ſhe was ſworn, and aſked what ſhe could ſay againſt either of the priſoners? before ſhe could make any anſwer, ſhe fell into her fits, ſcreaming out in a miſerable manner, crying, *burn her, burn her*, which were all the words ſhe could ſpeak.

ROBERT CHANDLER father of the ſaid SUSAN gave in the ſame evidence, that his wife MARY CHANDLER had given; only as to the ſearching of ROSE CULLENDER as aforeſaid.

This was the ſum and ſubſtance of the evidence which was given againſt the priſoners concerning the bewitching of the children before-mentioned. At the hearing this evidence there were divers known perſons, as Mr. Serjeant KEELING, Mr. Serjeant EARL, and Mr. Serjeant BARNARD, preſent. Mr. Serjeant KEELING ſeemed much unſatisfied with it, and thought it not ſufficient to convict the priſoners: for admitting that the children were in truth bewitched,

witched, yet, ſaid he, it can never be applied to the priſoners, upon the imagination only of the parties afflicted; for if that might be allowed, no perſon whatſoever can be in ſafety, for perhaps they might fancy another perſon, who might altogether be innocent in ſuch matters.

There was alſo Dr. BROWN of *Norwich*, a perſon of great knowledge; who after this evidence given, and upon view of the three perſons in court, was deſired to give his opinion, what he did conceive of them; and he was clearly of opinion, that the perſons were bewitched; and ſaid, that in *Denmark* there had been lately a great diſcovery of witches, who uſed the very ſame way of afflicting perſons, by conveying pins into them, and crooked as theſe pins were, with needles and nails. And his opinion was, that the Devil in ſuch caſes did work upon the bodies of men and women, upon a natural foundation, (that is) to ſtir up, and excite ſuch humours ſuperabounding in their bodies to a great exceſs,

whereby he did in an extraordinary manner afflict them with ſuch diſtempers as their bodies were moſt ſubject to, as particularly appeared in theſe children; for he conceived, that theſe ſwooning fits were natural, and nothing elſe but what they call the mother, but only heightened to a great exceſs by the ſubtilty of the Devil, co-operating with the malice of theſe which we term witches, at whoſe inſtance he doth theſe villanies.

Beſides the particulars above-mentioned touching the ſaid perſons bewitched, there were many other things objected againſt them for a further proof and manifeſtation that the ſaid children were bewitched.

As *firſt*, during the time of the trial, there were ſome experiments made with the perſons afflicted, by bringing the perſons to touch them; and it was obſerved, that when they were in the midſt of their fits, to all men's apprehenſion wholly deprived of all ſenſe and underſtanding, cloſing their fiſts in ſuch manner, as that the ſtrongeſt man in the court could not force them open;

open; yet by the leaſt touch of one of thoſe ſuppoſed witches, (ROSE CULLENDER by name) they would ſuddenly ſhriek out, opening their hands, which accident would not happen by the touch of any other perſon.

And leaſt they might privately ſee when they were touched by the ſaid ROSE CULLENDER, they were blinded with their own aprons, and the touching took the ſame effect as before.

There was an ingenious perſon that objected, there might be a great fallacy in this experiment, and there ought not to be any ſtreſs put upon this to convict the parties, for the children might counterfeit this their diſtemper, and perceiving what was done to them, they might in ſuch manner ſuddenly alter the motion and geſture of their bodies, on purpoſe to induce perſons to believe that they were not natural, but wrought ſtrangely by the touch of the priſoners.

Wherefore to avoid this ſcruple it was privately deſired by the judge, that the Lord CORNWALLIS, Sir EDMUND BACON, and Mr. Serjeant KEELING, and ſome other gentlemen there in court, would attend one of the diſtempered perſons in the farther part of the hall, whilſt ſhe was in her fits, and then to ſend for one of the witches, to try what would then happen, which they did accordingly; and AMY DUNY was conveyed from the bar and brought to the maid: they put an apron before her eyes, and then one other perſon touched her hand, which produced the ſame effect as the touch of the witch did in the court. Whereupon the gentlemen returned, openly proteſting, that they did believe the whole tranſaction of this buſineſs was a mere impoſture.

This put the court and all perſons into a ſtand. But at length Mr. PACY did declare, that poſſibly the maid might be deceived by a ſuſpicion that the witch touched her when ſhe did not. For he had obſerv-

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ed divers times, that although they could not ſpeak, but were deprived of the uſe of their tongues and limbs, that their underſtandings were perfect, for that they have related divers things which have been when they were in their fits, after they were recovered out of them. This ſaying of Mr. PACY was found to be true afterwards, when his daughter was fully recovered, (as ſhe afterwards was) as ſhall in due time be related: for ſhe was aſked, whether ſhe did hear or underſtand any thing that was done and acted in the court, during the time ſhe lay as one deprived of her underſtanding? And ſhe ſaid, *ſhe did*: and by the opinions of ſome, this experiment, (which others would have a fallacy) was rather a confirmation that the parties were really bewitched, than otherwiſe: for, ſay they, it is not poſſible that any ſhould counterfeit ſuch diſtempers, being accompanied with ſuch various circumſtances, much leſs children, and for ſo long time; and yet undiſcovered by their parents and relations: for no man can ſuppoſe that they ſhould all conſpire together,

gether, (being out of ſeveral families, and, as they affirm, no way related one to the other, and ſcarce of familiar acquaintance) to do an act of this nature, whereby no benefit or advantage could redound to any of the parties, but guilty conſcience for perjuring themſelves in taking the lives of two poor ſimple women away, and there appears no malice in the caſe. For the priſoners themſelves did ſcarce ſo much as object it. Wherefore, ſay they, it is very evident that the parties were bewitched, and that when they apprehend or underſtand by any means, that the perſons who have done them this wrong are near, or touch them; then their ſpirits being more than ordinarily moved with rage and anger at them being preſent, they do uſe more violent geſtures of their bodies, and extend forth their hands, as deſirous to lay hold upon them; which at other times not having the ſame occaſion, the inſtance there falls not out the ſame.

Secondly, one JOHN SOAM of *Leoſtoft* aforeſaid, yeoman, a ſufficient perſon, de-

poſeth,

poſeth, that not long ſince, in harveſt-time and as they were going into the field to load, one of the carts wrenched the window of ROSE CULLENDER's houſe, whereupon ſhe came out in a great rage and threatned this deponent for doing that wrong; and ſo they paſſed along into the fields and loaded all the three carts, the other two carts returned ſafe home, and back again, twice loaded that day afterwards; but as to this cart which touched ROSE CULLENDER's houſe, after it was loaded, it was overturned twice or thrice that day; and after that they had loaded it again the ſecond or third time, as they brought it thro' the gate which leadeth out of the field into the town, the cart ſtuck ſo faſt in the gates-head, that they could not poſſibly get it through, were enforced to cut down the poſt of the gate to make the cart paſs through, but although they could not perceive that the cart did of either ſide touch the gate-poſts, And this deponent further ſaith, that after they had got it through the gate-way, they did with much difficulty get it home into the yard; but for all that they could do,

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they could not get the cart near unto the place where they ſhould unload the corn, but were fain to unload it at a great diſtance from the place, and when they began to unload they found much difficulty therein, it being ſo hard a labour that they were tired that firſt came; and when others came to aſſiſt them, their noſes burſt forth a bleeding: ſo they were fain to deſiſt and leave it until the next morning, and then they unloaded it without any difficulty at all.

ROBERT SHERRINGHAM alſo depoſeth againſt ROSE CULLENDER, that about two years ſince, paſſing along the ſtreet with his cart and horſes, the axletree of his cart touched her houſe, and broke down ſome part of it, at which ſhe was very much diſpleaſed, threatning him, that his horſes ſhould ſuffer for it; and ſo it happened, for all thoſe horſes being four in number, died within a ſhort time after. Since that time he hath had great loſſes by the ſudden dying of his other cattle; ſo ſoon as his ſows pigged, the pigs would leap and ca-

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per, and immediately fall down and die: Alſo, not long after, he was taken with a lameneſs in his limbs that he could neither go nor ſtand for ſome days. After all this, he was very much vexed with great number of lice of an extraordinary bigneſs, and altho' he many times ſhifted himſelf, yet he was not any thing the better, but would ſwarm again with them; ſo that in the concluſion he was forced to burn all his cloaths, being two ſuits of apparel, and then he was clean from them.

As concerning AMY DUNY, one RICHARD SPENCER depoſeth, that about the firſt of *September* laſt, he heard her ſay at his houſe, *that the Devil would not let her reſt until ſhe were revenged on one* CORNELIUS SANDESWELL'S *wife.*

ANN SANDESWELL, wife unto the aboveſaid CORNELIUS, depoſed, that about ſeven or eight years ſince, ſhe having bought a certain number of geeſe, meeting with AMY DUNY, ſhe told her, *if ſhe did not fetch her geeſe home, they would all be deſtroyed:*

ſtroyed: which in a few days after came to paſs.

Afterwards the ſaid AMY became tenant to this deponent's huſband for a houſe, who told her, *that if ſhe looked not well to ſuch a chimney in her houſe, that the ſame would fall:* whereupon this deponent replied, that it was a new one; but not minding much her words, at that time they parted. But in a ſhort time the chimney fell down according as the ſaid AMY had ſaid.

Alſo this deponent farther ſaith, that her brother being a fiſherman, and uſing to go into the *Northern ſeas*, ſhe deſired him to ſend her a firkin of fiſh which he did accordingly; and ſhe having notice that the ſaid firkin was brought into *Leoſtoft-road*, ſhe deſired a boatman to bring it aſhore with the other goods they were to bring; and ſhe going down to meet the boat-man to receive her fiſh, deſired the ſaid AMY to go along with her to help her home with it; AMY replyed, *ſhe would go when ſhe had it:* and thereupon this deponent went to the ſhore

ſhore without her, and demanded of the boat-man the firkin; they told her, that they could not keep it in the boat from falling into the ſea, and they thought it was gone to the Devil, for they they never ſaw the like before. And being demanded by this deponent, whether any goods in the boat were likewiſe loſt as well as hers? They anſwered, *not any*.

This was the ſubſtance of the whole evidence given againſt the priſoners at the bar; who being demanded, what they had to ſay for themſelves? They replyed, *nothing material to any thing that was proved againſt them.* Whereupon, the judge in giving his direction to the jury, told them, that he would not repeat the evident unto them, leaſt by ſo doing he ſhould wrong the evidence on the one ſide or on the other. Only this acquainted them, that they had two things to enquire after.

Firſt, Whether or no theſe children were bewitched?

Secondly,

Secondly, Whether the priſoners at the bar were guilty of it?

That there were ſuch creatures as *witches* he made no doubt at all; For *Firſt*, the ſcriptures had affirmed ſo much. *Secondly*, The wiſdom of all nations had provided laws againſt ſuch perſons, which is an argument of their confidence of ſuch a crime. And ſuch hath been the judgment of this kingdom, as appears by that act of parliament which hath proved puniſhments proportionable to the quality of the offence. And deſired them, ſtrictly to obſerve their evidence; and deſired the great God of Heaven to direct their hearts in this weighty thing they had in hand: *for to condemn the innocent, and to let the guilty go free, were both an abomination to the Lord.*

With this ſhort direction the jury departed from the bar, and within the ſpace of half an hour returned, and brought them in both *guilty* upon the ſeveral indictments, which were thirteen in number, whereupon they ſtood indicted.

This

This was upon *Thurſday* in the afternoon, *March* 13, 1662.

The next morning, the three children with their parents came to the Lord Chief Baron HALES's Lodging, who all of them ſpoke perfectly, and were in as good health as ever they were; only SUSAN CHANDLER, by reaſon of her very much affliction, did look very thin and wan. And their friends were aſked, at what time they were reſtored thus to their ſpeech and health? And Mr. PACY did affirm, that within leſs than half an hour after the *witches* were convicted, they were all of them reſtored, and ſlept well that night, feeling no pain; only SUSAN CHANDLER felt a pain like pricking of pins in her ſtomach.

After, they were all of them brought down to the court, but ANN DURENT was ſo fearful to behold them, that ſhe deſired ſhe might not ſee them. The other two continued in the court, and they affirmed in the face of the country, and before the

witches

witches themſelves, what before had been depoſed by their friends and relations; the priſoners not much contradicting them. In concluſion, the judge and all the court were fully ſatisfied with the verdict, and thereupon gave judgement againſt the *witches* that they ſhould be hanged.

They were much urged to confeſs, but would not.

That morning we departed for *Cambridge*, but no reprieve was granted; and they were executed on *Monday* the ſeventeenth of *March* following; but they confeſſed nothing.

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FINIS.